



VOX POPVLI.

OR

# NEVVES FROM SPAYNE,

translated according to the Spanish coppie.

Which may serve to forewarn both England  
and the United Provinces how farre  
to trust to Spanish pretences.

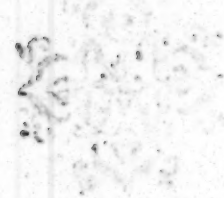


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Imprinted in the yeare 1620.

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Collected by Dr. J. B. Smith  
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in 1912



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## To the Reader.

**T**hat Comet which appeared to vs in November (1618) gaue occasion of much discourse to all sorts of men. But amongst them all, none, in my opinion spake more probably, then a learned knight our Countryman, now with God; who confidently and bouldly affirmed, that *such persons were but abusers and did but flatter greatnes, who gaue their verdict that the Comet was effectuell (as some will haue it) or signall, (as others iudge it) only to Affrica; whereby they layde it farre enough from England, when this knight out of the consideration of the space of the Zodiacke which this Comet measured, the inclination of his sword and blade, and to what places both the heade and tayle became verticall, together with other seacrets, affirmed that not only all Europe to the eleuation of 52. degrees was liable to his threatnings; but England especially, yea that person besides in whose fortune (to vse his owne words) wee are all no lesse imbarcked, then the Passenger, with the ship, is, in the Pilots that guides the same. The truth whereof (saith Hee) a few yeeres will manifest to all men. And after Hee adds; The motion of this Comet being \* swift in the beginning, & slow in the ending, the effects are to be expected the sooner. I haue (saith Hee) much more to say, but marke the effects heereof in the Empire &c.*

Surely these Comets are not the worke of Chaunce, but of prouidence, and they haue their speciall ends and vses wherefore they were made. Some hould they are effectuell and operative especially in such places where they become verticall in their passage, and that not of them selues, but as second causes appointed by God for some extraordinary worke, as the Creature it selfe is extraordinary; and for my part I can find no impietie in this opinion. Others thinke them signall only and that to all places to which they appeare, and that they are sent to pread-

monish

\* The sooner to begin the longer to continue, and to be slow of operation toward the end. So the alterations in Germany were violent the losse soldadoe (as Prague and the Palatinate witness) the recovery is like to be circular and slow, I pray God it may sure. Nullum violentum perpetuum. Quod scire est, serio est.

monish of future euents (not as if wee could shun<sup>s</sup> them by this meanes, or so much as know them distinctlie, by any direct and certaine note) but that when they are come to passe, wee may know they fell not out by chaunce, as ignorance and infidelity vse to speake, but by the prouidence, order, and speciall direction of God, who signified the same beforehand by some extraordinary signe of his. So the Lord sends signes, but reserues the meaning to himselfe, and the reason heereof is rendered Esay. 48.7. *They are created now and not from the beginning, euen before the day when thou heardest them not; lest thou shouldst say, Behold I knew them.* The arrogance of Man, is a cause of his ignorance. Sometime the Lord sends signes to warne men to beware, & reueales the seacret of those signes to his seruants; as Ezech. 33.2.3. where *the watchman seeth the sword.* and Amos the 3.7. Sometime the Lord sends signes after the deliuerance, that men may know how that the Lord did performe the woike; as Esay. 37.30. And sometime the Lord sendeth signes that wee vnderstand not till they be accomplished, but then they manifest that God was the contriuer & disposer of those works, and that they were performed by his direction. Thus doubtles all the visions shewed vnto *S. Iohn* in the Reuelation, are to let vs see, when they are accomplished, that God from the beginning ordered and directed them for his glory, that the faithfull might not shrink from Christ, whilst they see Antichrist preuaile, but attend the end patiently and constantly; and that the simple, to whome God reueales this seacret of *Antichrist*, and to whome he vnlocks the *mystery of the man of sinne*, might not be held in suspence, by seeing diuerse learned men inuolued and inuoloped in the same Common cloud of Antichristian error and Idolatry, but rather praise the mercy of God that he respecteth their humility and simplicity (1. Cor. 1.26.27.) and *hides it from wise learned mightie men*, lest their arrogance should say, *wee knew it before.* as Esay 48.7.

Luk. 10.21

Now those things which this knight deliuered concerning the Comet, were only generall coniectures, out of former observations.



seruations, made by wise & learned men vpon the like apparitions. And yet this Comet, with these constructions & Comments vpon it, troubled men the more when they beheld the variable changes & violent pecipitations of all things in this age, through the world, (especially in our Isle) the like whereof many former Ages had not produced; when they saw those sodaine combustions kindled in Germany, and the feares they conceaued at home increase, the rather because *D. Didacus Sarmiento De Acuna Count of Gondomar*, Ambassadoure for the King of *Spayne*, who for his able parts and great seruices to that State, stiled himselfe *Gentis Hispania decus*, was in speech to returne into England againe, from whence he was newly departed the same yeere (1618) where he had long beene to the greefe of many good men, hanging in their eyes, like a prodigious Comet, and threatening worse effects to the Church and State, then this other Comet could effect or prefigure, if it had beene *effectuall*, as some mainetaine, or meere *signall* as others iudge. For whilst he continued heere, no ecclipse of the sunne could more damnifie the Earth to make it barraine, and the best things abortiue, then did his interposition, betwixt the glory and grace of souereignty, and the distressed estate of the Commonalty, insomuch as the \* *Wolfe* or *Basiliske* could not effect more with their eyes (if what men write of them were true) then this man could doe and did, in silencing the tongues, astonishing the senses, and subiecting the Spirits of all such as appeared prone, or might be doubted apt, to oppose his purposes in the lest point. The plough stood still, or with a fruitles toyle was constrained and drawne forward by necessitie only, with generall complaint and sighing: The Shepheard and the sheepe grew both naked and ragged, as if an euill and *envious eye* had looked vpon them; yea the wooll was eaten vp with the moth, or spun out without proffit, & the whole *web was no better then the spiders*. The Cōmon-wealth complained of the Marchant, and the Marchant of the custome. The East complained of the West, and the West of the East. The Clergie felt the fury;

\*Lupus in  
Fabula.

of the aspect, and that the speech, and manners, and apparell, of such as seemed to thrive best, did plainly bewray. The Court it selfe kept not the native and naturall vigoure and splendor, the gloss and glory of Nobilitie and gentilitie were sullied, the *Genius of Britanie* seemed to bee kept in awe, as *Marke Antony* had wont to bee when he playde with *Augustus*. No other reason could be giuen but that *Gondomar* was present, who brought the imperious *Genius of Austria and Spaine*, linked in league with the *Catholik Genius of Rome*, to outface the modest and bashfull *Genius of England, Scotland, and Wales*; so that as he wrot himselfe *Gentis Hispania Decus*, he might with lesse arrogance write, *Gentis Britannia Deducus*. For neuer could Spaine before boast so much, nor neede this (I hope) hearten them to a *second inuasion*. For since his departure, it is well knowne and scene, that our eyes, which he thought blind, did but attend vpon his Maiestie to see what he would doe, our eares, which he thought were deafe, because they neglected his scornes and scoffes, were listning to heare his Maiesties resolution, who was our oracle of State; our hands and knees, which he thought feeble and faint, were but lifted vp and bent downe to begge diuine ayde, and our hearts, which he thought deade with feare, were but contracting force to repay his indignities with ample interest. Wee might be then distracted, but wee were not dissolued. Yet for my part, me thought, I found a grear change in my courage vpon the change of ayer and earth, being out of his blasting. For in England I was heauy, dull, flauish, and heartlesse; but as soone as I past the riuer Twede and recouered the Scottish soyle and ayer, my spirits reuiued from death, or returned from exile, and I became more iocund, fresh, and agill. Then it was that I tooke penn in hand, and wrot that vision which I had seene amongst the people; which, as I did it freely, so I desire men would rather impute it to my ingenuitie, then to any other motiue.

Those Pamphlets which haue followed therevpon, may perhaps exasperate and giue more offence then *Vox Populi* it selfe did

did, though they were intended to soften and mollifie humors, which were before accidentally drawne to a heade and hardened against me, by the publicatiō of those Spanish seacrets. For as medicaments and plaisters, so bookes, haue diuerse and seuerall operations vpon sundry dispositions. And as it is impossible for an Artist, much more for an Emperick (as I am) to performe all cures vpon all persons, with one kinde of receipt, howsoeuer they may quack, so I know it impossible to satisfie all Readers in all points, especially in such wherein they may pretend interest. He that shall speake of Kings, Princes, Nobles, Knights, Gentlemen, Commons and Burgessees, Popes, Bishops, and other Clergymen: Lawyers, Souldiars, Phisitians, Marchants, Statemen and seamen, of rich and poore, old and younge, of diuerse Nations, Sexes, and Sects, it is impossible for such a man to giue satisfaction to all: but eyther that some persons or professions will mainetaine their owne iniustice, and think themselues perticularly taxed and taught, by euery plaine truth they heare, or the Author himselve, by ignorance or want of aduise and true intelligence, may commit some ouersight, which not pardoned but aggrauated, may dangerously impostume. This is my case, who being too deepe laden with vndertakings, am false vpon a flat, where I feare to be broken by the waues, or eaten vp by the sand. I desire helpe to get off, but none will come neere me, as doubting the same danger. Now therefore, feeling the ship to stir vnder me, I strike sayle, cast Anchor to hale my selfe cleere, and expect the rising of more water. For the flood may bring me off, especially now when wee haue a new moone and a spring tide. And, that it may, I lighten my selfe of this load, by confession and submission.

*First if in any tyne or word I haue offended God (as who is he that liues and sinnes not) I humbly craue pardon of his heavenly Maiestie, and hope to obtaine it, because he is mercifull, and sees, that my generall ayne hath beene, howsoeuer I may miscarrie in particulars, to honour him and to doe him seruise.*

*Secondly I craue pardon of my Souereigne, who is the earthly*  
\* 4 *sub-*



substitute of my heavenly father, if in any thing I haue iustly offended him, and thought, spoken, written, or done, what tends not directly to his honoure.

Thirldy I craue pardon of all persons and professions, if in any thing I haue offended any man, otherwise then becam my person & profession, and was suiteable to him who ought to speake truth, and pretended to doe so.

Mat. 15. 13 Indeede I tooke, and take my selfe to be one of their successors, whome our sauour honours with the title of Salt, and I thought, and do thinke therefore, it becomes me not to be Sugar. I know it is the nature of salt to bite, & this, though it be profitable is painfull; and therefore such must expect to bee bitten againe, as I haue beene, and am content to bee publicquely, though it were at Paules Crosse or in print. I know there are diuerse, who haue lost their fauoure, and expect, with Demas, to be counted prudent spirits and moderate men; and these vaine gloriously seeke odd wayes to climbe vp, & to catch the eare of applause & opinion: when how high soeuer they climbe, and upon whatsoeuer Salt-cellar they stand, they are well worthie to be cast out & trodden vnderfoote, being good for nothing, but a shame and staine to their professions; such as will suffer, say, or doe any thing to serue their owne turnes; and vse their indifferent breath, to no better end, then to blow bladders to beare them vp, whilst they swimme with the streame. Yet, if mistaken, I transgresse vpon this hand, out of ignorance or indiscreet zeale, as the Apostles did Luke. 9. 34. 35. and as I may easely doe, who haue nothing now, but at the second or third hand, and no friend to consult withall, to correct my papers, or direct me, I humbly craue pardon, and submit my selfe and my poore labours, to the censure of the Church and Commonwealth, for whose prosperity I pray, and am ready not only to sacrifice, but to be sacrificed.

2. Tim. 4.  
10.

Thom: Scott,



# VOX POPULI.

**H**IS Catholique Maiestie had giuen commandement that presently vpon the returne of *Seigneur Gondomar*, his Lieger Embassadour from *England* (1618) a speciall meeting of all the principall States of *Spaine* (who were of his Councell) together with the Presidents of the Councell of *Castile*, of *Arragon*, of *Italy*, of *Portugal*, of the *Indyes*, of the *Treasure*, of *War*, and especially of the *Holy Inquisition*, should be held at *Mouson* in *Arragon*, the Duke of *Lerma* being appointed President. Who should make declaration of his Maiesties pleasure, take account of the Embassadours seruice, and consult touching the State and Religion respectiuelly; to giue satisfaction to his *Holynesse Nuntio* (who was desired to make one in this assembly) concerning certaine ouertures of peace and amitie with the English, and other Catholike proiects, which might engender suspition and icalousie betwixt the Pope and his Maiestie, if the mysteric were not vnfolded, and the ground of those Councils discovered aforehand.

This made all men expect the Embassadours returne with a kind of longing, that they might behold the issue of this meeting, and see what good for the Catholike cause the Embassadours imployment had effected in *Eng-*

*B*

*land,*

*land*, answerable to the generall opinion conceiued of his wisdom, and what further project would be set on foot to become matter for publike discourse.

At length he arriued, & had present notice giuen him from his Maiestie, that before he came to the Court he should giue vp his account to this assembly. Which command he gladly receiued, as an earnest of his acceptable seruice, and gaue thanks, that for his honour he might publish himselfe in so iudicious a presence.

He came first, vpon the day appointed, to the Councell Chamber (except the Secretaries) not long after all the Councell of State and the Presidents met, there wanted onely the Duke of *Lerma*, and the Popes *Nuntio*, who were the Head and Feet of all the Assembly. These two staid long away for diuers respects: The Nuntio, that he might expresse the greatnesse of his Master, and loose the Sea of *Rome* no respect by his ouersight, but that the benches might be full to obserue him at his approach.

The Duke of *Lerma*, to expresse the authoritie & dignitie of his owne person, and to shew how a *Servant put in place of his Master, exacts more seruice of his fellow Seruants, then the Master himselfe*.

These two staid till all the rest were weary of waiting, but at length, the Nuntio (supposing all the Councell set) launched forth, & came to roade in the Councell Chamber; where (after mutuall discharge of dutie from the Companie, and blessing vpon it from him) he fate downe in solemne silence: grieuing at his ouersight, when he saw the Duke of *Lerma* absent, with whom he strove as a Competitor for Pompe and Glorie.

The Duke had sent before, & vnderstood of the Nuntios being there, and staid so much the longer, that his boldnesse

boldnesse might be obserued, wherein he had his desire, for the Nuntio hauing a while patiently drinen away the time with feuerall complements to feuerall persons, had now almost run his courtship out of breath, but that the Duke of *Villa Hermosa* ( President of the Councell of *Arragon* ) fed his humour by the discharge of his owne discontentment, vpon occasion of the Duke of *Lerma* his absence, & beckned *Seigneur Gondomar* to him, vsing this speech in the hearing of the Nuntio after a sporting manner.

How vnhappy are the people where you haue beene: First, for their Soules, being Heretikes; Then for their Estates, where the name of a *Fauourite* is so familiar? How happie is our State, where the *Keyes of Life and Death* are so easily come by ( pointing at the Nuntio ) hanging at euerie Religious girdle, and where the *Dore of Iustice and Mercie* stand equally open to all men without respect of persons? The Embassadour knew this ironical stroke, to be intended as a by-blow at the Nuntio, but fully at the Duke of *Lerma* ( whose greatnesse began now to waxe heauie, towards declension ) and therefore he returned this answer: Your Excellencie knoweth the State is happie where wise Fauourites gouerne Kings, if the Kings themselues be foolish, or where wise Kings are, who hauing Fauourites, whether foolish or of the wiser sort, will not yet be gouerned by them. The State of *England* ( howsoeuer you heare of it in *Spaine* or *Rome* ) is too happie in the last kind: They need not much care what the Fauourite be ( though for the most part he be such as preuents all suspition in that kind, being rather chosen as a Schollar to be taught and trayned vp, then as a Tutor to teach ) of this they are sure, no Prince exceeds theirs in



personall abilities, so that nothing could be added to him in my wish but this one, that he were *our Vassalle*, and a *Catholike*.

With that the noyse without gaue notice of the Duke of *Lerma's* entrance, at whose first approach, the whole House arose, though some later then other, as *Enuic* had hung Plummets on them to keepe them downe. The *Nuntio* onely fate vnmoued. The Duke cherished the obseruance of the rest, with a familiar kind of carriage, too high for courtesie, as one not neglecting their demeanors, but expecting it. And, after a filiall obeyſance to the Popes *Nuntio*, fate down as President vnder the Cloath of State, but somewhat lower; then after a space giuen for admiration, preparation, and attention, he began to speake in this manner:

The King my Master (holding it more honourable to doe then to discourse, to take from you the expectation of Oratorie vsed rather in Scholes & Pulpits, then in Coun-cels) hath appointed me President in this holy, wise, learned, and noble Assembly: A man naturally of a slow speech, and not desirous to quicken it by Art or Industry, as holding *Action* onely proper to a *Spaniard* as I am by birth, to a *Souldier* as I am by profession, to a *King* as I am by representation. Take this therefore briefly for declaration both of the cause of this meeting, and my Master his further pleasure:

There hath beene in all times from the Worlds foundation, one chiefe Commander or Monarch vpon the Earth. This needs no further prooffe then a backe looking into our owne memories and Histories of the World: Neither now is there any question (except with Infidels and Heretikes) of that one chiefe Commander in *Spiri-tuals*,



tuals, in the vnitie of whose person, the Members of the visible Church are included; but there is some doubt of the chiefe Commander in temporals, who (as the Moone to the Sun) might gouerne by night as this by day, and by the Sword of Iustice *compell to come in*, or cut off such as infringe the authoritie of the Keyes. This hath beene so well vnderstood long since, by the infallible Chayre, as that thereby, vpon declension of the Romane Emperors, and the encrease of *Romes* Spirituall splendor (who thought it vnnaturall that their Sun should be sublunary) our Nation was by the Bishop of *Rome*, selected before other People, to conquer and *rule the Nations with a Rod of Iron*, and our Kings to that end adorned with the title of *most Catholike*, as a name aboue all names *vnder the Sun* (which is) vnder Gods Vicar generall himselte the Catholike Bishop of Soules. To instance this point by comparison, looke first vpon the grand Seigneur the great Turk, who hath a large title, but not vniuersall. For besides that he is an Infidell, his command is confined within his owne territories, and he stiled not Emperour of the World, but of the Turks and their Vassals only.

Among Christians, the *Defender of the Faith* was a glorious stile, whilst the King to whom it was giuen by his Holinesse, continued worthy of it. But he *stood not in the Truth*, neither yet those that succeed him. And besides, it was no great thing to be called what euerie Christian ought to be, *Defender of the Faith*, no more then to be stiled with *France*, *The most Christian King*, wherein he hath the greatest part of his title common with most Christians. The Emperours of *Russia*, *Rome*, *Germanie*, extend not their limits further then their stiles, which are locall; only my Master, *The most Catholike King*, is for

dominion of *Bodies*, as *The vniuersall Bishop*, for dominion of *Soules*, ouer all that part of the World which we call *America* (except where the English intruders vsurp) and the greatest part of *Europe*, with some part of *Asia* and *Africa* by actuall possession, and ouer all the rest by reall and indubitable right; yet acknowledgeth this right to be deriued from the free and fatherly donation of his Holynesse, who as the *Sun* to this *Moone*, lends luster by reflection to this Kingdome, to *this King of Kings*, my Master. What therefore he hath, howsoever gotten, he may keepe and hold; What he can get from any other King or Commander, by any stratageme of warre, or pretence of peace, he may take; for it is theirs only by vsurpation, except they hold of him from whom all *Ciuill power* is deriued, as *Ecclesiasticall* from his Holynesse. What the ignorant call *Treason*, if it be on his behalfe, is *Truth*, & what they call *Truth*, if it be against him, is *Treason*: And thus all our peace, our warre, our treaties, our mariages, and whatsoever entendment else of ours, aimes at this principall end, to get the whole possession of the World, and to reduce all to *vnitie*, vnder one *temporall head*, that our King may truly be what he is styled, *The Catholike and vniuersall King*. As Faith is therefore vniuersall, & the Church vniuersall, yet so as it is vnder one head the Pope, whose Seat is and must necessarily be at *Rome* where *S. Peter* sate: so must all men be subiect to our and their Catholike King, whose particular Seat is here in *Spaine*, his vniuersall euerie where. This point of *State*, or rather of *Faith*, we see the *Romane Catholike Religion* hath taught euerie where, and almost made naturall; so that by a Key of gold, by *intelligence*, or by way of *confession*, my Master is able to vnlocke the secrets of euerie Prince, and to withdraw  
their

their Subiects allegiance; as if they knew themselves rather my Masters Subiects in truth, then theirs whom their biethes haue taught to miscall Soueraignes. We see this in *France*, and in *England* especially, where at once they learne to obey the Church of *Rome* as their *Mother*, to acknowledge the Catholike King as their *Father*, and to hate their owne King as an *Heretike* and an *usurper*. So we see Religion and the State are coupled together, laugh and weepe, flourish and fade, and participate of eithers fortune, as growing vpon one stocke of policie. I speake this the more boldly in this presence, because I speake here before none but *Natiues*, persons, who are partakers both in themselves and issues of these Triumphs about all those of ancient *Rome*, & therefore such (as besides their oaths) it concernes to be secret. Neither need we restraints this freedome of speech for the Nuntio his presence, because that besides that he is a *Spaniard* by birth, he is also a *Iesuite* by profession; an order raised by the prouidence of Gods Vicar, to accomplish this Monarchy the better, all of them being appropriate thereunto, & as publike agents and priuie Councillers to this end. Wherein the wisdom of this State is to be beheld with admiration, that as in Temporall warre it imployes or at least trusts none but *Natiues*, in *Castile*, *Portugall*, or *Arragon*; so in Spirituals it imployes none but the *Iesuites*, and so imployes them, that they are generally reputed, how remote soeuer they be from vs, how much soeuer obliged to others, still to be ours, and still to be of the Spanish faction, though they be *Polonians*, *English*, *French*, and residing in those Countreys and Courts. The Penitents therefore, and all with whom they deale and conuerse in their Spiritual traffike, must needs be so too, and so our Catholike King must  
needs



needs haue an inuisible Kingdome, and an vnknowne number of Subiects in all Dominions, who will shew themselves and their *Faith*, by their workes of *disobedience*, whensoever we shall haue occasion to vse that *Iesuiticall vertue of theirs*. This therefore being the principall end of all our Councels (according to those holy directions of our late pious King, *Philip* the second, to his sonne now rainging) *to aduance the Romane Catholike Religion, and the Catholike Spanish Dominion together*, We are now met by his Maiesties command, to take account of you (*Seigneur Gondomar*) who haue beene Embassador for *England*, to see what good you haue effected there towards the aduancement of this worke, & what further proiect shall be thought fit to be set on foot to this end. And this is briefly the occasion of our meeting.

Then the Embassadour (who attended bare headed all the time) with a low obeysance began thus: This most laudable custome of our Kings in bringing all Officers to such an account, where a reuiew and notice is taken of good or bad seruices vpon the determination of their employments, resembles those *Romane Triumphs* appointed for the Souldiers; and as in them it prouoked to *courage*, so in vs it stirres vp to *diligence*. Our Master conuerseth by his Agents with all the World, yet with none of more regard then the *English*, where matter of such diuersitie is often presented (through the seuerall humours of the State, and those of our Religion and Faction) that no instructions can be sufficient for such negotiations, but much must be left in trust, to the discretion, iudgement, and diligence of the Incumbent. I speake not this for my owne glorie (I hauing beene restrayned, and therefore deserued meanely) but to forwarne on the behalfe of others,  
that



that there may be more scope allowed them to deale in as occasion shall require. Briefly, this rule deliuered by his Excellencie was the Card & Compasse by which I sayled, *To make profit of all humors, and by all meanes to aduance the state of the Romish Faith, and the Spanish Faction together, vpon all aduantage either of oaths, or the breach of them*; for this is an old obseruation, but a true, that for our *pietie to Rome*, his Holinesse did not onely giue, but blesse vs in the conquest of the *New World*, and thus in our *pious perseuerance*, we hope still to be *Conquerours of the Old*. And to this end whereas his Excellencie in his excellent discourse, seemes to extend our outward forces and priuate aimes onely against Heretickes, and restraine them in true amitie with those of the Romish Religion: This I affirme, that since there can be no securitie, but such Princes though now Romish Catholikes, may turn Heretickes hereafter; my aimes haue euer beene to make profit of all, and to make my Master, Master of all, who is a faithfull and constant Son of his Mother *Rome*. And to this end I beheld the endeauiours of our Kings of happie memorie, how they haue achieved Kingdomes and conquests by this policie, rather then by open hostilitie, and that without difference, as well from their *allies & kinsfolkes*, men of the *same Religion and profession*, such as were those of *Naples, France, and Nauar*, though I doe not mention *Portugall* now vnited to vs, nor *Sauoy* (that hardly slipt from vs) as of an aduerse and hereticall Faith. Neither is this rule left off, as the present Kingdome of *France*, the State of *Venice*, the *Low Countreys, Bohemia* (now all labouring for life vnder our plots) apparantly manifest. This way therefore I bent my Engines in *England*, as your honours shall particularly heare. Neither

shall I need to repeat a Catalogue of all the services I haue there done, because this State hath been acquainted with many of them heretofore, by the intercourse of Letters and messengers. Those only I will speake of that are of later edition, done since the returne of the Lord *Rosse* from hence, and may seeme most directly to tend to those ends formerly propounded by his Excellencie; that is, the *aduancement of the Spanish State, and Romish Religion together.*

First, It is well obserued by the wisdom of our State, that the King of *England*, who otherwise is one of the most accomplit Princes that euer raigned, extreemely hunts after Peace, and so affects the true name of a *Peacemaker*, as that for it he will doe or suffer any thing. And withall they haue beheld the generall bountie and munificence of his mind, and the necessitie of the State so exhausted, as it is vnable to supply his desires, *who only seekes to haue, that he might giue to others.* Vpon these aduantages they haue giuen out their directions and instructions both to me and others, and I haue obserued them so farre as I was able.

And for this purpose, whereas there was a *mariage* propounded betwixt them and vs (howioeuer I suppose our State too deuout to deale with Heretikes, in this kind, in good earnest, yet) I made that a couer for such intelligence, and a meanes to obtaine whatsoeuer I desired, whilst the State of *England* longed after that mariage, hoping thereby (though vainly) to settle peace, and fill the Exchequer.

Here the Archbishop of *Toledo*, Inquisitor generall slept vp and interrupted *Gondomar*, saying, that mariage was not to be thought vpon; First, for Religions sake, lest they

they should indanger the Soule of the young Lady and the rest of her companie, who might become Heretikes : Secondly, for the State, lest by giuing so large a portion to Heretikes, they should inrich and inable them for warres, and impouerish and weaken the Catholikes.

To the first obiection the Popes Nuntio answered, that his Holynesse for the *Catholike cause*, would dispense with the mariage, though it were with a *Turk or Infidell*. For first, there was no valuable danger in hazarding one for the gayning of many, perhaps of all. Secondly, That it was no hazard, since women (especially young ones) are too obstinate to be remoued from their opinions, & abler to worke *Salomon* to their opinions, then *Salomon* to worke them to his Faith. Thirdly, That it was a great advantage to match with such from whom they might breake at pleasure, hauing the Catholike cause for a color : and besides, if need were, to be at libertie in all respects, since there was *no Faith to be kept with Heretikes*. And if his Holynesse may dispence with the murder of such, and dispose of their Crownes (as what good Catholike doubts but he may ?) much more may he, and will he in their mariages to preuent the leprous Seed of Heresie, and to settle Catholike blood in the Chaire of State.

To the second obiection the Embassador himselve answered, saying, That though the English generally loathed the match, and would as he thought buy it off with halfe of their Estates (hating the Nation of *Spaine*, and their Religion, as appeared by an uproare and assault a day or two before his departure from *London* by the Apprentices, who seemed greedie of such an occasion to vent their owne spleenes, in doing him or any of his a mischief) yet two sorts of people vnmeasurably desired the match



might proceed. First, *The begging and beggerly Courtiers*, that they might haue to furnish their wants. Secondly *The Romish Catholikes*, who hoped hereby at leſt for a *moderation* of Fines, & Lawes, perhaps a *tolleration*, and perhaps a totall *reſtauration* of their Religion in *England*. In which regard (quoth he) I haue knowne ſome zealous perſons proteſt, that if all their Friends, and halfe their Eſtates could procure them the ſeruice of our Lady (if ſhe came to be married to their Prince) they would freely uſe the meanes faithfully to fight vnder her Colours, when they might doe it ſafely. And if it came to *portion*, they would, *underhand*, contribute largely of their Eſtates to the Spaniſh Collector, and make vp halfe the Portion out of themſelues, perhaps more. So that by this marriage it might be ſo wrought, that the State ſhould rather be rob'd and weakened (which is our ayme) then ſtrengthened, as the Engliſh vainly hope. Beſides, in a ſmall time they ſhould worke ſo farre into the Body of the State, by *buying Offices and the like*, whether by *Sea* or *Land*, of *Juſtice Ciuill* or *Eccleſiaſticall*, in *Church* or *State* (all being for Money expoſed to ſale) that with the helpe of the Ieſuites, they would vndermine them with meere wit (without Gunpowder) & leaue the King but a few Subiects whoſe faithes he might rely vpon, whiſt they were of a Faith aduerſe to his. *For what Catholike body that is ſound at the heart, can abide a corrupt & hereticall head?*

With that the Duke *Medina Sidonia*, Preſident of the Councell of Warre, and one of the Councell of State roſe vp, and ſaid, his Predeceſſors had felt the force and wit of the Engliſh in Eightie eight, and he had cauſe to doubt the Catholikes themſelues that were Engliſh, and *not fully Ieſuized*, vpon any Foraine inuaſion would rather take  
part



part with their owne King (though a Heretike) then with his Catholike Maiestie a stranger.

The Embassadour desired him to be of another mind, since first for the persons generally their bodyes *by long disuse of Armes*, were disabled, and their minds effeminated by peace and luxurie, farre from that they were in Eightie eight, when they were daily flesht in our blood, and made heartie by customarie conquests. And for the *affection of those whom they call Recusants* (quoth he) I know the bitternesse of their inueterate malice, and haue seen so far into their natures, as I dare say, they will be for *Spain* against all the World. Yea (quoth he) I assure your honours, I could not imagine so basely of their King and State, as I haue heard them speake. Nay their rage hath so peruerthed their iudgements, that what I my selfe haue seene and heard proceed from their King beyond admiration, euen to astonishment, they haue slighted, misreported, scorned, and peruerthed to his disgrace & my reioicing, magnifying in the meane time our defects, for graces.

Here the Duke *Pastrana*, President of the Councell for *Italy*. steps vp and said, he had lately read a Booke of one *Camdens*, called his *Annalles*, where writing of a treatie of mariage long since betwixt the English *Elizabeth* & the French Duke of *Aniou*, he there obserues that the mariage was not seriously intended on either side, but politickly pretended by both States, counterchangeably, that each might effect their owne ends. There (quoth he) the English had the better, and I haue some cause to doubt, *since they can dissemble as well as we*, that they haue their aymes vnderhand, as we haue, and entend the match as little as we doe: And this (quoth he) I beleue the rather, because their King, as he is *wise to consult and consider*, so he is a

*constant Master of his word, and hath giuen strong reasons against matches made with persons of contrarie Religions; which reasons no other man can answer : And therefore doubtlesse he will not goe from, or counsell his Sonne to forsake, those rules layd downe so deliberately by himselfe.*

Your Excellencie mistakes (quoth the Embassador) the aduantage was then on the side of the English, *because the French sought the match*; now it must be on ours, *because the English seeke it*, who will grant any thing rather then breake off; and besides, haue *no patience to temporize and dissemble* in this or any other designe, as the French haue long since well obserued : For their necessities will giue them neither time, nor rest, nor hope else where to be supplied. As for their King I cannot search into his heart, I must belecue others that presume to know his Minde, heare his Words, and reade his Writings; and these relate what I haue deliuered. But for the rest of the people, as the number of those that are truly religious are euer the *least*, and for the most part of *least account*; so is it there, where if an equall opposition be made betwixt their truly religious and ours, the remainder, which will be the greatest number, will stand *indifferent*, and fall to the stronger side where there is most hope of *gaine and glorie*; for those two are the gods of the *magnitude & the multitude*. Now these see apparantly no certaine supplies for their wants but from vs.

Yes (quoth the Duke) for euen now you said the generall State, loathing this match, would redeeme the feare thereof, with halfe of their Estates. It is therefore but calling a Parliament, and the businesse were soone effected.

A Parliament? (quoth the Embassador) nay therein lies one of the principall seruices I haue done, in working  
such

such a dislike betwixt the King and the Lower House, by the endeavour of that honourable Earle and admirable Engine (a sure servant to vs and the Catholike cause whilst he liued) as the King will neuer endure Parliament again, but rather suffer absolute want, then receiue conditionall reliefe from his Subiects. Besides, the matter was so cunningly carried the last Parliament, that as in the Powder Plot the Fact effected should haue beene imputed to the Puritans (the greatest zealots of the *Caluinian* Sect) so the propositions which damde vp the proceedings of this Parliament, howsoeuer they were enuenced by Roman Catholikes, and by them intended to disturbe the Session, yet were propounded in fauour of the *Puritans*, as if they had beene hammered in their Forge. Which verie name and shadow the King hates, it being a sufficient aspersion to disgrace any person, to say, *he is such*, & a sufficient barre to stop any suit, and vtterly to crosse it, to say, *it smells of, or enclines to that party*. Moreouer, there are so many about him who blow this Cole, fearing their owne stakes if a Parliament should inquire into their actions, that they vse all their art and industry to withstand such a Councell; perswading the King, he may rule by his *absolute prerogative*, without a Parliament, & thus furnish himselfe by maying with vs, and by other domesticke proiects, without Subsidies; when, leuying of Subsidies & taskes, haue beene the only vse Princes haue made of such assemblies. And whereas some free minds amongst them, *resembling our Nobilitie who preserue the priuiledge of Subiects against Soueraigne inuasion*, call for the course of the *Common Law* (a Law proper to their Nation) these other time-seruers, cry the Lawes down, and cry vp the *prerogative*, whereby they prey vpon the Subiects, by suits and exactions,



exactions, milke the Estate, and keepe it poore, procure themselves much suspition amongst the better and more iudicious sort, & hate amongst the oppressed Commons. And yet if there should be a Parliament, such a course is taken as they shall neuer choose their *Shiere Knights and Burgessees freely*, who make the greater halfe of the Body thereof; for these being to be elected by most voyces of Freeholders in the Countrey where such elections are to be made, are carried which way the great persons who haue Lands in those Countreys please, who by their *Letters* command their Tenants, Followers, and Friends to nominate such as adhere to them, and for the most part are of our *Faction*, and respect their own benefit or grace, rather then their Countries good; yea the Countrey people themselves will euerie one stand for the *great man their Lord, or Neighbour, or Master*, without regard of his *honestie, wisedome, or Religion*. That which they aime at (as I am assured of by faithfull intelligence) is to please their Landlords, and so to renue their Lease, in which regard they will betray their Countrey & Religion too, and elect any man that may most profit their particulars. Therefore it is vnlikely there should euer be a Parliament, and impossible the Kings debts should be payd, his wants sufficiently repayred, and himselfe left full handed by such a course, & indeed (as it is generally thought) by any other course but by a mariage with vs. For which cause, whatsoever proiect we list to attempt, enters safely at that dore, whilst their policie lyes asleepe *and will not see the danger*. I haue made tryall of these particulars, and found few exceptions in this generall rule.

Thereby I, and their owne wants together, haue kept them from *furnishing their Nauie*, which being the wall  
of

of their Iland, & once the strongest in Christendome, lies now at roade vnarmed and fit for ruine. If euer we doubted their strength by Sea, now we need not, there are but few Ships or men able to looke abroad or to liue in a storme, much lesse in a Sea fight. This I effected by bearing them in hand the furnishing of a Nauie bred suspition in my Master, and so would auert his mind from this match; the hope of which rather then they would loose, they would loose almost their hope of Heauen.

Secondly, *All their voyages to the East-Indies I permit*, rather with a colourable resistance then a serious, because I see them not helpfull but hurtfull to the State in generall, carrying out Gold and Siluer, bringing home Spice, Silkes, Feathers, and the like toyes, and insensibly wasting the common stocke of Coyne and Bullion, whilst it fills the Customehouse & some priuate Purfes; who thereby are inabled to keep this *discommoditie* on foot by bribes; especially so many *great persons* (euen States-men) being Venturers and Sharers in the gaine. Besides, this *wasteth their Mariners*, not one of ten returning, which I am glad to heare, for they are the men we stand in feare of.

Thirdly, As for their *West Indian voyages*, I *withstand them in earnest*, because they begin to inhabite there & to fortifie themselues; and may in time there perhaps raise another *England* to withstand our *New Spaine* in *America*, as this old *England* opposeth our present State, and cloudes the glorious extent thereof in *Europe*. Besides, there they trade for commodities without wast of their Treasure, and often returne Gold for Knives, Glasses, or the like trifles, and that without such losse of their Mariners as in other places. Therefore I crost whatsoever *entendments* were projected for *Virginea* or the *Bermudas*;

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because

because I see they may be hereafter really helpfull vnto them, as now they serue for draines to vnload their populous State, which else would ouerflow its own bankes by continuance of peace, and turne head vpon it selfe, or make a body fit for any Rebellion. And so much I preuailed herein, as I caused most of the *Recusants, who were Sharers, to withdraw their venters and discourage the worke*, so that besides priuate persons vnable to effect much, nothing was done by the *publike purse*. And we know by experience such Voyages & Plantations are not effected without great meanes to sustaine great difficulties, and with an vnwearied resolution and power, to meet all hazards and disasters with strong helps and continuall supplies, or else the vndertaking proues idle.

Fourthly, By this meanes likewise I kept the *voluntarie Forces from Venice*, till it was almost too late to set out, and had a hope that *worke of seacrecie* should haue broken forth to action, before these could haue arriued to succour them.

Fifthly, I put hard for the *Cautionarie Townes* (which our late King *Philip* of happie memorie so aimed at, accounting them the *Keyes of the Low Countreys*) that they might be deliuered to his Catholike Maiestie, as to the proper owner. And had perhaps preuailed, but that the profest *Enemie* to our State and Church, who died shortly after, gaue counsell to restore them to the rebellious States; as one that knew *Popular Common-wealthes to be better Neighbors, surer Friends, and lesse dangerous Enemies, then Monarchies*; and so by his practise rescued them from my hands, & furnished the Exchequer from thence for that time. Neither was I much grieued at this; because the *dependancie* they had before of the English seemed

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now to be cut off, & the interest the English had in them and their cause to be taken away: which must be fully and finally effected, before we can hope either to conquer them or *England*, who holding together are too strong for the World at Sea, and therefore must be *disunited, before they can be overcome*. This point of State is acknowledged by our most experienced Pensioner & sure Friend *Monfieur Barnevelt*, whose succeeding plots to this end, shall beare witness for the depth of his Judgement.

Sixthly, But the last service I did for the State, was not the least; *when I underwrought that admirable Engine Raleigh*, and so was the cause his voyage (threatning much danger and damage to vs) was overthrowne, and himselfe returning in disgrace, I pursued almost to death, neither (I hope) need I say almost, if all things hit right, & all strings hold. But the determination of my Commission, would not permit me longer to stay to follow him to execution; which I desired the rather, that *by concession* I might have wrung from the inconsiderate English, *An acknowledgement of my Masters right in those places, punishing him for attempting there, though they might prescribe for the first foot*: And this I did to *stop their mouths hereafter*, and because I would *quench the heat and valour of their Nation*, that none should dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be so hardie as to looke out at Sea, or breath vpon our Coasts. And lastly, because I would bring to an ignominious death, that old *Pyrat*, who is one of the last now liuing, bred vnder that deceased English *Virago*, and by her flesh in our blood and ruine. To doe this I had many Agents, First, *diuerse Courtiers*, who were hungry and gaped wide for Spanish gold; Secondly, *some that bare him at the heart for inneterate quarrels*; Thirdly, *some For-*

reiners who hauing in vaine sought the *Elixer* hitherto,  
 hope to finde it in his head; Fourthly, *all men of the Ro-  
 mish Faith, who are of the Spanish Faction*, and would  
 haue beene my Blood-hounds, to hunt him or any such  
 to death willingly; as persons hating the prosperitie of  
 their Country, and the valour, worth, & wit of their own  
 Nation, in respect of vs and our Catholike cause; Lastly, I  
 left behind me such an Instrument *composed artificially of  
 a Secular understanding and a religious profession*, as he is  
 euerie way adapted to scrue himselfe into the closet of the  
 heart, and to worke vpon feminine leuitie, *who in that  
 Countrey haue masculine Spirits to command and pursue  
 their plots vnto death*. This therefore I account as done,  
 and reioyce in it, knowing it will be verie profitable to vs,  
 gratefull to our Faction there, & for the rest, what though  
 it be crosse to the people, or the Clergie? We that onely  
 negotiate for our *owne gaine*, and treat about this mariage  
 for our *owne ends*, can conclude or breake off when we  
 see our time, without respect of such as can neither profit  
 vs, nor hurt vs; for I haue certaine knowledge that the  
 Commons generally are so *effeminate and cowardly*, as  
 that they at their Musters (which are seldome and slight,  
*only for the benefit of their Muster Masters*) of a thousand  
 souldiers, scarce one hundred dare discharge a Musket, and  
 of that hundred, scarce one can vse it like a Souldier: and  
 for their *Armes* they are so ill prouided, that *one Corselet  
 serueth many men*, when such as shew their Armes vpon  
 one day in one place, lend them to their Friends in other  
 places to shew when they haue vse. And this if it be spied  
 is only punished by *a mulct in the purse*, which is the Of-  
 ficers aime, who for his aduantage winkes at the rest, & is  
 glad to finde and cherish, by conniueance, profitable faults,  
 which

which increase his reuenue. Thus stands the state of that *poore miserable* Countrey, which had neuer *more people and fewer men*. So that if my Master should resolute vpon an *invasion*, the time neuer fits as at this *present*, *securitie of this marriage*, and the *disuse of Armes* hauing cast them into a dead sleepe, a *strong and wakening Faction* being euer amongst them readie to assist vs, and they being vnprovidid of Ships and Armes, or hearts to fight, a vniuersall discontentment filling all men. This I haue from their *Master Masters*, and *Captaines* who are many of them of *our Religion*, or of *none*, and *so ours*, readie to be bought and sold, and desirous to be my Masters Seruants in fee.

Thus much for the State particularly, wherein I haue bent my selfe to weaken them and strengthen vs, and in all these haue aduanced the Catholike cause, but especially, *in procuring fauours for all such as fauour that side, and crossing the other by all meanes*. And this I practise my selfe and giue out to be generally practised by others, that whatsoeuer successe I find, *I still boast of the victorie*; which I doe to *dishearten* the Heretikes, to make them *suspicious* one of another, especially of their Prince and their best Statesmen, and to keepe our *owne in courage*, who by this meanes increase, otherwise would be in danger to decay.

Now for Religion and for such designs as fetch their pretence from thence, I beheld the policie of that late Bishop of theirs (*Bancroft*) who stird vp and maintained a dangerous schisme, between our secular Priests & Iesuites, by which he discouered much weaknesse to the dishonor of our Clergie, and preiudice of our cause. This taught me (as it did *Barnevelt* in the *Low-Countries*) to worke secretly and insensibly between their *Conformists* and *Non-conformists*, and to cast an eye as far as the *Orcades*; knowing



that businesse might be stirred vp there, that might hinder proceedings in *England*, as the French euer vsed *Scotland* to call home the Forces of *England*, and so to preuent their conquests. The effect you haue partly seene in the Earle of *Argile*, who sometime was Captaine for the King and Church against the great Marques *Huntley*, & now fights vnder our Banner at *Bruxels*, leauing the Croffes of Saint *George* and S. *Andrew*, for the Staffe of S. *James*. Neither doe our hopes end here, but we daily expect more reuolters, at leest such a disunion as will neuer admit solid reconciliation, but will send some to vs, and some to *Amsterdam*. For the King (a wise and vigilant Prince) labouring for a perfect vnion betwixt both the Kingdomes, which he sees cannot be effected, where the leest difference in Religion is continued (diuerse sharpe and bitter braules from thence arising, whilst some struiuing for honor more then for truth, prefers their owne way and will, before the generall peace of the Church, and the edification of Soules) he I say seekes to worke both Churches to *vniformitie*; and to this end made a iourney into *Scotland*, but with no such successe as he expected, for diuerse of ours attended the traine, who stirred vp humors and factions, and cast in scrupels and doubts to hinder and crosse the proceedings, yea, those that seeme most aduerse to vs, and auerse from our opinions, by their disobedience and example helpe forward our plots, and these are encouraged by a factious and headie multitude, by a faint and irresolute Clergie (many false brethren being amongst their Bishops) and by the prodigall Nobilitie who maintaine these stirres in the Church, that thereby they may safely keepe their Church liuings in their hands, which they haue most sacrilegiously seased vpon in the time of the first deformation,

on, and which they feare would be recovered by the Clergie if they could be brought to brotherly peace and agreement; for they have seene the King verie bountifull in this kind, hauing lately increased their Pensions, and setled the Clergie a competent maintenance; and besides, out of his owne meanes, which in that kingdome is none of the greatest, hauing brought in & restored whole Bishopricks to the Church, which were before in Lay-mens hands, a great part of the Nobilities Estates consisting of Spirituall Lands, which makes them cherish the puritanicall Faction, who will be content to be trencher fed with scraps, and crums, and contributions, and arbitrarie beneuolences from their Lords, and Lairds, and Ladyes, and their adherents and followers.

But (quoth the Inquisitor generall) how if this act of the Kings *wherein he is most earnest and constant*, should so far thriue as it should effect a perfect vnion both in the Church and Common wealth? I tell you it would in my conceite be a great blow to vs, if by a generall meeting a generall peace should be concluded, and all their Forces bent against *Rome*; and we see their politike King aymes at this.

True (quoth *Gondomar*) but he takes his marke amisse, howsoeuer he vnderstand the people & their inclination better then any man, and better knowes how to temper their passions and affections, for, besides that he is hindred there in *Scotland* vnderhand by some, for the reasons before recited, and by other great ones of ours who are in great place & authoritie amongst them, he is likewise deluded in this point euen by his owne Clergie at home in *England*, who pretend to be most forward in the cause. For they considering if a generall vniformitie were wrought,

wrought, what an inundation would follow, whilst all or most of theirs (as they feare) would flocke thither for preferment (as men pressing towards the Sunne for light and heate) and so their owne should be vnprovidid; these therefore (I say) howsoever they beare the King fairely in hand, are vnderhand against it, and stand stiffe for all *Ceremonies to be obtruded with a kind of absolute necessitie* vpon them, when the other will not be almost drawne to *receiue any*. When if an abatement were made, doubtlesse they might be drawne to *meet in the midst*; but there is no hope of this with them where neither partie deales seriously but only for the present, to satisfie the King, and so there is no feare on our side that affections and opinions so diuerse, will euer be reconciled and made one. Their Bishop of S. *Andrews* stands almost alone in the cause, and puls vpon himselfe the labour, the losse, and the enmie of all, with little proficiencie, whilst the aduerse faction haue as sure friends, and as good intelligence about the King, as he hath, and the same Post perhaps that brings a Packet from the King to him, brings another from their abettors to them, acquainting them with the whole proceedings and counsels, and preparing them aforehand for opposition: This I know for truth, and this I reioyce in, as conducing much to the Catholike good.

But (quoth the Nuntio) are there none of the hereticall Preachers busie about this match? Me thinkes their fingers should itch to be *writing*, and their tongues burne to be prating of this businesse, especially the *puritanicall sort*, howsoever the most *temperate* and *indifferent* catie themselves.

The truth is my Lord (quoth the Embassador) that priuaty what they can, and publikely what they dare, both in  
*England*



England and Scotland, all for the most part (except such as are of our Faith) oppose this match to their utmost, by prayers, counsels, speeches, wishes: But if any be found longer tongued then his fellowes, we haue still meanes to charme their sawcinesse, to silence them, and expell them the Court, to disgrace them and crosse their preferments, with the *imputation of pragmaticke puritanisme*. For instance I will relate this particular; A Doctor of theirs, and a Chaplaine in Ordinarie to the King, gaue many reasons in a Letter against this marriage, and propounded a way how to supply the Kings wants otherwise; which I vnderstanding, so wrought vnderhand, that the Doctor was *committed*, and hardly escaped the danger of his presumptuous admonition, though the State knew his *intent was honest, and his reasons good*. Where we on the other side (both here and with the *Arch-Duke*) haue had Bookes penned, & Pictures printed, directly against their King and State, for which their Embassadors haue sought satisfaction of vs in vaine, not being able to stay the print, or so much as to *touch the hem of the Authours garment*. But we haue an euasion which Heretikes misse, *our Clergie being freed from the temporall Sword*, and so not included in our Treaties and Conditions of Peace, but at libertie to giue any hereticall Prince the Mate when they list: whereas theirs are *liable to account and hazard*, and are musled for barking, when ours may both barke and bite too. The Councill Table, & the Star Chamber do so terrifie them, as they dare not riot, but run at the Stirrop in excellent command, and come in at the least rebuke. They call their preaching in many places *standing vp*, but they couch and dare not *stand vp*, nor *quest*, but behaue themselves like *Setters*, silent and creeping vpon their bellies, licke the

dust which our Priests shake from their *beautifull feet*.

Now (quoth the Duke of *Lerma*) satisfie me about our owne Clergie how they fare, for there were here Petitions made to the King in the name of the *distressed, afflicted, persecuted, and imprisoned Priests*, that his Maiestie would interceed for them, to free them from the intolerable burdens they groaned vnder, & to procure their liberties: and letters were directed from vs to that end, that you should negotiate this demand with all speed & diligence.

Most Excellent Prince (replied *Gondomar*) I did your command with a kind of *command my selfe*: not thinking it fit to make it a suit in your name or my Masters, I obtained them libertie to walke freely vp & downe, to face and out-face their accusers, Iudges, Magistrates, Bishops; and to exercise their function, almost as *freely*, altogether as *safely* as at *Rome*.

Here the Nuntio obiected, that he did not well, as he thought, in procuring their libertie, *since they might doe more good in prison then abroad*; because in prison they seemed to be *vnder persecution*, and so were *pittied* of others; and *pittie of the person, prepares the affection further*. Besides, then they were *carefull ouer their owne liues to giue no offence*. But abroad they might be scandalous in their liues, as they vse to be in *Rome* and *Spaine*, and other Catholike Countreys; and so the opinion of their *holynesse* which vpholds their credit & cause against the married Clergie, would soone decay.

But the Embassador replied, he considered those inconveniences, but besides a superiour command, he saw the profit of their libertie more then of their restraint. For now they might *freely confer* & were euer practising and would doubtlesse produce some worke of wonder. And besides,

besides, by reason of their *authoritie*, & *meanes to change places*, did apply themselves to many persons; whereas in prison they onely could deale with such as *came to be taken*, or were *their owne before*. And this (quoth he) I add as a secret, that as before they were maintained by *private contributions* of deuout Catholikes, euen to excesse: so much more now shall they be able to *gather great sums*, to *weaken the State*, and *furnish them for some high attempt*, by the example of Cardinall *Woolsey*, barrelling vp Gold for *Rome*. And this they may easily doe, since all Catholikes *rob the hereticall Priests*, and *withhold Tythes from them by fraud or force*, to *giue to these of their own*, to whom they are properly due: and if this be spied, it is an easie matter to lay all vpon the *Hollanders*, and say, *they carie the Coyne out of the Land* (who are forward enough in deed, in such practises) and so ours shall not only be excused, but a *flaw made betwixt them* to weaken their amities and beget suspicion betwixt them of each others loue.

But amongst all these Priests (quoth the Inquisitor generall) did you remember that *old, reuerend Father Baldwin*, who had a finger in that admirable attempt made on our behalfe against the Parliament House? Such as he, deserving so highly, aduenturing their liues so resolutely for the Catholike cause, must not be neglected, but extraordinarily regarded, thereby to incourage others to the like holy vndertakings.

Holy Father (quoth *Gondomar*) my principall care was of him, whose life & libertie when I had with much difficultie obtained of the King, I solemnly went in person attended with all my traine, and diuers other well-willers to fetch him out of the Tower where he was in durance. As soone as I came in his sight I behaued my selfe after so



*lowly & humble a manner, that our aduersaries stood amazed to behold the reuerence we giue to our Ghostly fathers. And this I did to confound them and their contemptuous Clergie, & to beget an extraordinarie opinion of holynesse in the person, and pietie in vs, & also to prouoke the English Catholikes to the like deuout obedience; and thereby at any time these Iesuites (whose authority was somewhat weakned since the Schisme betwixt them and the Secular Priests, and the succeeding powder-plot) may worke the to our ends, as Masters their Seruants, Tutors their Scholars, Fathers their Children, Kings their Subiects. And that they may do this the more boldly & securely, I haue somewhat dasht the authoritie of their High-Commission; vpon which whereas there are diuerse Purseuants (men of the worst kind and condition, resembling our Flies & Familiars, attending vpon the Inquisition) whose office and imployment it is to disturbe the Catholikes, search their houses for Priests, Holy vestments, Bookes, Beades, Crucifixes, and the like religious appurtenances, I haue caused the execution of their office to be slackned, that so an open way may be giuen to our Spirituall Instruments for the free exercise of their faculties. And yet when these Purseuants had greatest authoritie, a small bribe in the Country would blind their eyes, or a little greater at Court or in the Exchequer, frustrate & crosse all their actions, so that their malice went off like Squibs, made a great cracke to fright children and new borne babes, but hurt no old men of Catholike Spirits. And this is the effect of all other their courses of proceeding in this kind, in all their Iudiciall Courts, whither knowne Catholikes (conuicted as they stile them) are, often summond & cited, threatned and bound ouer, but the danger is past as soone as the Officer*  
*barb*

*hath his Fee payd to him*, then the execution goeth no further. Nay vpon my conscience they are glad when there are offenders in that kind, because they are bountifull: and the Officers doe their best to fauour them that they *may increase*, and so their reuenue and gaine come in freely.

And if they should be sent to prison, euen that place (for the most part) is made a *Sanctuary* to them: as the old Romanes were wont to shut vp such by way of restraint as they meant to preferue from the peoples furie: so they liue safe in prison till we haue time to worke their libertie and assure their liues. And in the meane time their place of restraint is a *Studie vnto them*, where they haue opportunitie *to conferre together as in a Colledge*, and to arme themselves *in vnitie against the single aduersarie abroad*.

But (quoth the Inquisitor generall) how doe they for books when they haue occasion either to write or dispute?

My Lord (replies *Gondomar*) all the Libraries belonging to the Romane Catholikes through the Land, are at their command, from whence they haue all such collections as they can require, gathered to their hand, as well from thence as from all the Libraries of both Vniuersities, and euen the Bookes themselves if that be requisite. Besides, I haue made it a principall part of my employment, to buy all the *Manuscripts and other ancient & rare Authors out of the hands of the Heretikes*, so that there is no great Scholler dies in the Land, but my Agents are dealing with his Bookes, in so much, as euen their learned *Isaac Casaubon's* Librarie was in election without question to be ours, had not their vigilant King (who foresees all dangers, and hath his eye busie in euerie place) preuented my plot. For after the death of that great Scholler, I sent to re-

quest a view and catalogue of his Books, with their price, intending not to be out-vied by any man, if monie would fetch them; because (besides the damage that side should haue receiued by their losse, prosecuting the same Storie against Cardinall *Baronius*) we might haue made good advantage of his Notes, Collections, Castigations, Censures and Criticismes, for our owne partie, and framed and put out others vnder his name at our pleasure. But this was foreseene by their *Promethews*, who sent that *Torturer* of ours (the Bishop of *Winchester*) to search and sort the Papers, and to seale vp the Studie; giuing a large and princely allowance for them to the *Relickt* of *Causabon*, together with a bountifull Pention & prouision for her and hers. But this plot failing at that time, hath not euer done so: Nor had the Vniuersitie of *Oxford* so triumphed in their many *Manuscripts*, giuen by that famous knight *S. Thom. Bodley*, if either I had beene then imployed, or this course of mine then thought vpon. For I would labour what I might this way or any other way to disarme them, & either to translate their best Authours hither, or at least to leaue none in the hands of any but Romane Catholikes who are assuredly ours. And to this end an especiall eye would be had vpon the Librarie of one *S. Rob. Cotton* (an Ingrosfer of Antiquities) that whensoever it come to be broken vp (either before his death or after) the most choice & singular pieces might be gleaned & gathered vp, by a Catholike hand. Neither let any man thinke, that the descending thus low to pettie particulars is vnworthy an Embassador, or of small auaille for the ends we aime at, since we see euerie Mountaine consists of seuerall Sands, & there is no more profitable conuersing for Statesmen then amongst Schollers and their Bookes, especially where the King for whom



whom we watch is the King of Schollers, & loues to liue almost altogither in their Element. Besides, if by any meanes we can continue differences in their Church, or make them wider, or beget distast betwixt their Clergie & Common Lawyers (who are men of greatest power in the Land) the benefit will be ours, the consequence great, opening a way for vs to come in betweene, *For personall quarrels produce verball questions, and reall breaches.*

As he was further prosecuting this discourse, one of the Secretaries (who waited without the chamber) desired entrance; and being admitted, deliuered Letters which he had newly receiued from a Post directed to the President and the rest of the Councell from his Catholike Master, the contents whereof were to this effect:

**R**ight trustie and welbeloued Consens and Councillors,  
*We greet you well. Whereas We had a hope by our Agents in England and Germanie, to effect that great worke of the Westerne Empire; and likewise on the other side to surprize Venice, and so incircling Europe at one instant, & infolding it in our armes, to make the easier roade vpon the Turke in Asia, and at length reduce all the World to our Cotholike command. And whereas to these holy ends We had secret and sure plots and proiects on foot in all those places, and good intelligence in all Courts: Know now, that We haue receiued late and sad newes of the apprehension of our most trustie & able Pentioner Barneuelr, and of the discouerie of other our intendments; so that our hopes are for the present adiourned till some other more conuenient and auspicious time. We therefore will you presently vpon sight hereof, to breake off your consultation, and repaire straight to our Presence, there to take further directions,*

*directions, and proceed as the necessitie of time and cause shall require.*

With that his Excellencie and the whole house strooke with amazement, *crost their Foreheads*, rose vp in sad silence, and brake off this Treatie abruptly, and without tarriance tooke Horse and posted to Court: From whence expect more newes the next faire Wind.

*In the meane time, let not those be secure, whom it concerns to be rowsed up, knowing that this aspiring Nabuchadnezzar will not loose the glorie of his greatnesse (who continueth still to magnifie himselfe in his great Babell) untill it be spoken, Thy Kingdome is departed from thee.*

*Dan. 4.*

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FINIS.

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